

EX-117

REC-94

105-165706-8-154

March 13, 1970

[REDACTED]
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101

Dear [REDACTED]

I have received your communication of March 8th and can understand the concern which prompted you to write.

With respect to your comments, the FBI conducts a considerable amount of investigation regarding the activities of those individuals and organizations which seek to undermine our basic freedoms and threaten the internal security of our country. The results of our inquiries are furnished to the Department of Justice which has the responsibility for determining whether prosecution is warranted in these matters.

In view of your interest, I am enclosing material relating to some of our work in the internal security field.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (4)

An Analysis of the New Left: A Gospel of Nihilism

Counterintelligence Activities

A Study in Marxist Revolutionary Violence

Director's testimony 4/17/69 re Communist, Racial and Extremist Groups

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. She enclosed a newspaper clipping setting forth the facts concerning the eviction of a resident in Winston-Salem, North Carolina as presented by the owner of the residence.

DMW:pmt (3)

MAR 19 1970

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TRUE COPY

[REDACTED]
Winston Salem, N. C. 27101
March 8, 1970

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I'm frightened and distressed at the terrible inroads that the communists, black and white, have made in our country today.

Last week, here in our city a negro woman was evicted from her house because of non payment of rent. The next day the Black Panthers moved her furniture back into the house and pictures in our local paper showed the Panthers standing in front of the house armed with rifles and declared they would use them on any law enforcement officers who came to evict the woman again. An anonymous person payed her back rent so there was no confrontation between the police and Black Panthers. My question is, who controls our city, the police or the Black Panthers?

I'm enclosing a letter of explanation to our local paper by the realestate agent who had evicted the woman by court order.

Why is it the Black Panthers and other negro militants create so much violence then be coddled by the authorities and yet any white organizations are hounded and persecuted?

It seems to me that our country is in a state of siege by these negro and white communists and I wonder what can be done to stop it now before it is too late.

Sincerely,

[REDACTED]

RFC-94 EX-117
10-11-70 8-1-70

TRUE COPY

12 MAR 16 1970

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

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105-165706-8-154 enclosure

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Letters to the Sentinel

Newton Speaks Out

I, a Republican candidate for mayor, feel it my duty, as a result of recent newspaper reports starting this past Friday, Feb. 27, in the Sentinel, to speak out and speak loudly at this time on the subject of law and order.

I believe the founders of this great nation and the writers of the Constitution of the United States were writing with God-given wisdom. I, myself, believe in orderly procedure and proper due process of law and do by every act and deed try to proceed in this manner as far as humanly possible.

With respect to recent newspaper pictures showing a small faction brandishing firearms, I say this is a dangerous situation. It will be a darker day in Winston-Salem than a total eclipse of the Sun and a most mournful time if a small group of seeming insurgents start shooting. This type of conflict between people would be more horrible than international war as there are rules of war that nations abide by when they are in conflict. Now I wish to admonish this small faction to forget about shooting people and use their shotguns for the shooting of rabbits, quail, squirrels, deer, bears and wild turkeys. In this kind of shooting they will get out in the open and see the wonderful workings of nature and the Almighty God and it is my hope that these sights will bring them to their senses. I have been working hard these past few weeks, from early morning until late in the night, and I am tiring and expect in the next few days to go down around Moncks Corner, South Carolina on a wild turkey hunt and hope to come back most refreshed. Won't you wrong-thinking people consider doing likewise?

In regard to the Feb. 27, Sentinel news article concerning a private matter between myself as agent of the owner of a house on Northwest Boulevard and Mrs. Minnie Bellamy, I make the following statement.

Mrs. Bellamy had me as agent rent which she should have been able to pay without difficulty. She failed to pay me and I started a proper legal action to collect rent and at that point business relations were terminated between me as agent and Mrs. Minnie Bellamy. The court heard the evidence in this matter, handed down a decision or judgment for the rent that she owed and a judgment for possession of the house. Mrs. Bellamy had the choice of moving or paying up the rent. An officer of the law worked with her for a week, trying to get her to move or pay. Finally, without success in either direction, on orders of the court which were signed by a court officer, he evicted Mrs. Bellamy. I happen to know personally the sheriff's deputy who handled this eviction and know him to be a good humored man and a man of good disposition. He did not purposefully damage Mrs. Bellamy's property.

As to the weather on Friday, Feb. 27, the day on which the Minnie Bellamy eviction took place the sun was shining; the Newspapers predicted a warming trend, it was a cold night Thursday prior to the eviction on Friday but had warmed up considerably at the time the court effected the eviction.

I, as your next mayor of the City of Winston-Salem, will work for the upbuilding of both people and things. We already have laws on the books and the agencies to upbuild both people and things. I will put forth all my energies and efforts to upbuild people and things and as to these agencies that work with the upbuilding of people, I will see that they get on the move and teach such people as make up the Bellamy family to learn to budget their money, prepare proper nutritional meals for themselves, do better housekeeping, and make of themselves better citizens so that they will improve their lot in life and in so doing improve the lot of their fellowman.

—JERRY L. NEWTON, JR.

Winston-Salem.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: MAR 12 1970

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16)

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source is a [REDACTED] near Department of the Interior, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2) - BUREAU

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

1 - SF

1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

2/23/70

[REDACTED] asking for material on the BPP which she had requested sometime ago. [REDACTED] will arrange to have it sent. [REDACTED] gives her address as Greenville, North Carolina.

REC 8

105-165706-8 -153

MAR 13 1970

51 MAR 20 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 3/9/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581c)(P) TDLRE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - 165706-172
FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS
RM - BPP

On 3/5/70, the following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly sensitive source whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau.

BPP National Distribution Office, San Francisco, Calif., shipped four boxes containing 1400 copies of the BPP newspaper to Winston-Salem, North Carolina, by Delta Airlines, on air bill number 0669126. The time that this shipment was scheduled to arrive in Winston-Salem was not available, but the indication was that the shipment would arrive on the afternoon of 3/6/70.

The Bureau has previously instructed that Field Divisions receiving shipments of BPP publications should verify these shipments through independent sources.

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information concerning instant shipment should be included in your next BPP report and any other appropriate communication.

REC 27

105-165706-8-752

14 MAR 11 1970

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Charlotte (157-6171)(RM)
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 157-2861)(CHARLOTTE)
RNB:aji
(6)

59 MAR 17 1970
f228-

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 3/6/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
FROM: *CUB* SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)(P) *TDR*
RE: *BP* BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source whose information should not be disseminated without adequate paraphrasing, advised as follows on March 5, 1970.

An individual identifying himself as [REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, contacted BPP National Headquarters at Berkeley, Calif., speaking with [REDACTED]. According to source, [REDACTED] furnished a verbal report concerning an incident which occurred Tuesday, March 3, 1970 in South Carolina, specific location unknown. In this report, [REDACTED] advised that some landlords were trying to evict people for non-payment of rent and they refused to leave. He indicated that deputies came in and moved a woman's belongings out on the street and the brothers returned the belongings and posted armed guards outside the home, after which the "pigs" withdrew from the scene.

[REDACTED] was instructed to submit a full report of the incident together with pictures for utilization in the BPP newspaper. Source had no further information with respect to this matter.

- 0 - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte (157-6171)(RM)
- (1 - 157-[REDACTED])
- 2 - Columbia (157-4975)(RM)
- 2 - San Francisco
- (1 - 157-2958)

JAC:aji
(9)

EX-117

REC 85

105-165706-8-151

9 MAR 12 1970

ENCLOSURE

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M P
Special Agent in Charge

59 MAR 7 1970

PACKET SECT.

SF 157-2861
JAC:aji

The above is furnished for the information of Charlotte who should endeavor to fully identify [REDACTED] and his current activities if unknown to that Office.

Columbia should endeavor to ascertain from appropriate sources where the incident reported by [REDACTED] occurred and ascertain full details with respect to this matter which should then be submitted to the Bureau by appropriate LHM's suitable for dissemination.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

DATE: 2/26/70

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 2/17/70.

Referenced airtel reflected a conversation between [REDACTED], Winston-Salem, N. C., with [REDACTED] 2/16/70, pertaining to the newspaper problems and [REDACTED] and also mentions unidentified persons from Fort Bragg, N. C., coming by for papers.

[REDACTED]

An unidentified person from Fort Bragg, N. C., may be [REDACTED] a Fort Bragg soldier who has previously been in contact with BPP members in Connecticut, and is originally from Connecticut. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Investigation continuing.

- (2) - Bureau (RM)
1 - San Francisco (157-2861) (Info) (RM)
5 - Charlotte (2-157-6171)

(1- [REDACTED])
(1- [REDACTED])
(1- [REDACTED])

THG:jwr
(8)

REC-33

EX-102
105-165706-8-149

9 MAR 2 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.



1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 2/17/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by [REDACTED]
(SF T-16), a highly confidential source, on 2/16/70.

[REDACTED] from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, complained to [REDACTED] on 2/16/70, that Winston-Salem had not received its newspapers. He also pointed out that the papers, in the past, had been arriving seven to eight days late.

[REDACTED] complained that they were not able to sell these papers, and, therefore, could not send in any money. He also mentioned that some fellows from Fort Bragg, not identified, came by for papers and it was necessary to give them some of the old ones.

[REDACTED] also mentioned that they had had a rally, but had "got the wrong speaker". This last remark was not further explained.

[REDACTED] then went on to mention someone called [REDACTED] and indicated that he thought this man was an old Panther from New York. [REDACTED] did not say what [REDACTED] connection was with Panther activities in North Carolina.

In reply to [REDACTED] last complaint, to the effect that the newspapers, when they arrived were often wet, [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Charlotte (RM)
 (1 - 157-6171)
 (1 - 157-[REDACTED])
2 - San Francisco
WAC/krh
(6)

105-165706-8-147

FEB 19 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M

Special Agent in Charge

SF 157-2861
WAC/krh

instructed [REDACTED] to secure an attorney to look into the matter.

The above material is furnished to Charlotte to indicate the continuing activity on the part of [REDACTED] in the Winston-Salem area.

Memorandum

7

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 2/5/70

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861
CUB/B

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 E 1336 1/2 Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

- 2 - BUREAU
- 3 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171) ([REDACTED])
- 3 - SF
- 1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
- 1- BLACK PANTHER PARTY - ORGANIZATION SF (157-2872)
- 1- [REDACTED]

REC-3 105-165706-8-146

SF-111

ENCLOSURE

RACIAL INT. SECT.

1-28-70

[redacted] (ph), then [redacted], from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, to [redacted] reporting that they received Volume 8 of the paper before they received Vol. 7; Vol. 7 was 2 weeks late, so now they have 7,000 papers to deal with all at once. [redacted] blames this on the pigs and instructs [redacted] to send in a report on it so they can file a claim. [redacted] agrees, saying that they are expanding all over the state and this has brought the shit down on them. [redacted] asks [redacted] how everything is and [redacted] says it's the struggle; he just got back here from Colorado. [redacted] puts [redacted] on the line again, identifying her as the [redacted] promises to send in a report on the paper foul up. She asks when her financial report is due and [redacted] checks, then says it's due every Wednesday.

ENCLOSURE

FBI

Date: 2/13/70

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Walters _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Soyars _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

Transmit the following in _____
 (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
 (Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-1581C)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
 FILMS AND PUBLICATIONS
 RM

CHARLOTTE

On 2/12/70, the following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly sensitive source, whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau:

A shipment of newspapers was sent by BPP National Distribution, San Francisco, Calif., to Winston-Salem, N.C., by way of Baltimore. The shipping information indicates that this shipment will arrive at Winston-Salem from Baltimore at 6:25 a.m. 2/13/70. The name of the carrier from Baltimore to Winston-Salem is not available to San Francisco at this time. However, the shipment is on Air Bill No. 247719134.

Also, source was unable to determine the quantity of newspapers in this shipment, but it probably is not more than one or two boxes.

REC-51

The Bureau has previously instructed that Field Divisions receiving shipments of BPP publications should verify the shipments through independent sources.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Charlotte (157-6171)
- 2 - San Francisco
- (1 - 157-2861)

RNB/pae

105-165706-8-145
 17 FEB 17 1970

(6)
 69 FEB 26 1970

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

SF 157-1581C
RNB/pae

San Francisco does not desire an answer to this communication. Information concerning instant shipment should be included in your quarterly BPP report and any other appropriate communication.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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51
FBI WASH DC

Sto
FBI CHARLT

1226 PM URGENT 2-12-70 BSH
TO DIRECTOR 8105-165706 SUB 8)
FROM CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

2
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - SCHOOL APPEARANCES, RACIAL
MATTERS.

RE DIRECTOR TELETYPE FEBRUARY TEN, SEVENTY.

REVIEW OF CHARLOTTE FILE REFLECTS STOKLEY CARMICHAEL,
WHILE PRIME MINISTER, BPP, MADE FOUR COLLEGE APPEARANCES IN
N.C. DURING NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT. CARVER GENE NEBLETT,
WHILE EAST COAST FIELD MARSHAL, BPP, AND DOROTHY JEAN MC QUEEN
HUGHES, SECRETARY OF CARMICHAEL, BOTH APPEARED AT FAYETTEVILLE,
N.C., STATE COLLEGE APRIL TWENTYONE, SIXTY NINE.

INFORMATION RE APPEARANCES PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED BOSTON
AS [REDACTED] AND WFO [REDACTED]

101
AIR MAIL COPIES TO BOSTON AND WFO.

END

ELR

FBI WASH DC

105-165706-8-143
FEB 17 1970

F B I

Date: 2/6/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

Via _____

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson _____
 Mr. DeLoach _____
 Mr. Mohr _____
 Mr. Bishop _____
 Mr. Casper _____
 Mr. Callahan _____
 Mr. Conrad _____
 Mr. Felt _____
 Mr. Gale _____
 Mr. Rosen _____
 Mr. Sullivan _____
 Mr. Tavel _____
 Mr. Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Miss Holmes _____
 Miss Gandy _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)

 RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by
 (SF T-16) a highly confidential source on
 2/4/70.

[redacted] of the Winston-Salem group in
 North Carolina contacted [redacted] at BPP Headquarters
 in Berkeley, discussing a report he had sent into National
 Headquarters. He further advised that they were going
 to start a breakfast program in Winston-Salem next week.
 [redacted] asked about the possibility of having a speaker
 come up from National for the February 15 celebration
 (HUEY NEWTON birthday celebrations). [redacted] said he
 would check and find out if they had anyone available.
 [redacted] said that his present home phone number was
 919-[redacted]

[redacted] then went on to mention that [redacted]
 and [redacted] (possibly [redacted]) had been
 down in North Carolina, and were organizing a group
 under the name of the Southern Van Guard Revolutionary
 Party. [redacted] asked [redacted] to send in all information
 concerning the activity of this group, whom [redacted] would
 then expose in the Panther Press as being renegades.
 [redacted] instructed [redacted] to try to get the Black GIs
 to form a coalition and send the information as to its
 efforts back to National Headquarters. [redacted] asked

- (2) - Bureau(RM)
 4 - Charlotte (157-6171)(RM)
 (1 - 157-[redacted])
 (1 - 157-[redacted])
 (1 - 157-[redacted])(?)
 2 - San Francisco (157-2861)

WAC:ajz

(8)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

B FEB 17 1970

105-165706-8-142

SF 157-2861

WAC:ajz

about a local newspaper account which had claimed that the Panthers were planning a liberation week from the 15th to the 21st of February. [REDACTED] said there was no truth to such a statement and a copy of the newspaper should be sent to Headquarters.

The above is sent for the information of the Charlotte Office.

F B I

Date: 2/11/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM

On 2/9/70, the following information was furnished by [REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly sensitive source whose identity must be protected by adequate paraphrasing if this information is disseminated outside the Bureau;

On 2/9/70, [REDACTED] of North Carolina, contacted BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, Calif.

[REDACTED] inquired about [REDACTED], who apparently is still in the North Carolina area. [REDACTED] was advised that [REDACTED] is a renegade and a thief. [REDACTED] was instructed by BPP National Headquarters to proceed a leaflet with a picture of [REDACTED] and to identify him as a renegade who was expelled from the BPP in 1969. National Headquarters instructed [REDACTED] to call [REDACTED] a thief, renegade, viper, snake and anything else appropriate that he can think of.

- ② - Bureau
- 5 - Charlotte (157-6171)
 - (1 - 157-[REDACTED])
 - (1 - 157-[REDACTED])
 - (1 - 157-[REDACTED])
- 3 - San Francisco
 - (1 - 157-2872) (ORGANIZATION)
 - (1 - 157-[REDACTED])

RNB/pae
(10)

REC-116

105-165706-8-140

FEB 13 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

54 FEB 25 1970

SF 157-2861
RNB/pae

[redacted] was instructed to also state that [redacted] is "wanted by the people."

BPP National Headquarters advised [redacted] that a [redacted] contacted BPP National Headquarters recently concerning setting up a BPP chapter in Wake Forrest, N.C. [redacted] was instructed to contact [redacted] and advise him that no new BPP chapters are being established at this time. However, BPP National Headquarters indicated that they might be able to use [redacted] and [redacted] was instructed to have [redacted] attend some political education courses (presumably somewhere in N.C.) so that [redacted] can look him over and see if he is competent and can be used.

Charlotte will continue to follow closely the activity of [redacted] in Winston-Salem, N.C., and will determine if [redacted] organization there is a bona fide chapter of the BPP or if it is a National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) established under the guidance of BPP National Headquarters.

Charlotte will also identify [redacted] Wake Forrest, N.C., and will determine if [redacted] is able to establish any kind of an organization at Wake Forrest within the framework of the BPP. If so the Bureau and San Francisco must be kept advised by LHM reporting offices of any such organization, plus addresses and telephone numbers of offices.

SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

February 5, 1970

Director, FBI (105-165706 sub 8) - 139 1 [REDACTED]

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

REC-21

Enclosed herewith are two copies of a Naval Intelligence Service (NIS) Information Report dated 1/26/70 from the USMC, Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, and two copies of a Black Panther Party (BPP) greeting card which was an attachment to the NIS report.

According to information set forth in the enclosed communications, the BPP greeting card was received by an attorney in Jacksonville, North Carolina, after it was mailed from a Post Office Box registered to the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) at Greensboro, North Carolina. Apparently the note, which was signed "Doc," was inscribed on the greeting card.

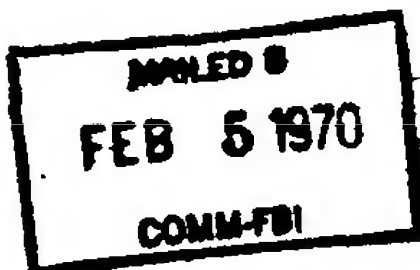
You are instructed to conduct appropriate investigation in an effort to ascertain the circumstances under which BPP greeting cards are being mailed from the OEO and to further identify "Doc" and the "Black Angels," which was also inscribed on this card. Positive information developed should be submitted in the form of a letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination.

As your office is aware, a subject by the name of [REDACTED] also known as [REDACTED] was previously active in the Greensboro area in connection with BPP matters. [REDACTED] as the operator of the [REDACTED] a store that sells black publications,

Enclosures - 4

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Walters _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Soyars _____
Tele. _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

GES:ekw (4)



SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

59 FEB 19 1970

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, Charlotte
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
105-165706 sub 8

would logically be in possession of greeting cards similar to the one enclosed herewith. No information has been previously received, however, which would indicate that [REDACTED] is employed by the OEO or has access to the OEO Post Office Box at Greensboro. You should not overlook the possibility [REDACTED] is the individual responsible for mailing the enclosed BPP greeting card.

NOTE:

USMC furnished information that an unknown person using an OEO Post Office Box has mailed at least one BPP greeting card in North Carolina. Instructions for Charlotte set forth since this information is of interest to OEO and the possibility of a Federal violation exists.

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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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105-165706-8-139 enclosure

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[REDACTED]

1/19/70

Director, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)-38

Reurairtel and LHM dated 1/8/70.

14

For your information, the text of the poem indicates that it was probably composed no earlier than December, 1969. The reference contained therein to a Panther having been shot in bed appears to relate to the shooting of Fred Hampton, the Panther member who was slain in December, 1969, in Chicago, Illinois. Another reference in the poem is to the 28 Panthers who were murdered by the "pigs." This figure "28" was publicized in December, 1969, by Charles Garry, the well-publicized attorney for the Black Panther Party.

2 - Newark (100-49184)

11b

24 7M

MAILED 5
JAN 20 1970
COMM-FBI

58 FEB 13 1970

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

F B I

Date: 1/8/70

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 and for Newark 2
 copies of an LHM captioned as above.

Contact with [REDACTED] was
 by SA [REDACTED]

LEADS:

The Bureau is requested to advise if the poem in
 the enclosed LHM has been sent to other law enforcement
 agencies.

NEWARKAT PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

Newark is requested to search indices re [REDACTED]
 and contact appropriate informants to determine
 if a Black Panther Party group exists at Princeton, New
 Jersey, and possibly sender of the letter as set forth in
 the LHM.

ENCLOSURE

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
 2 - Newark (100-49194) (Encls. 2) (RM)
 3 - Charlotte
 (2 - 157-6171)
 (1 - 157-[REDACTED])

THG:rep
 (7)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Chen Du Att: SIM, IPS, etc. m. angler
 RAO ATT: IDIU

116 ATT: 816900

REC-28

105-165706-8-138

JAN 10 1970

RECEIVED
 FBI - NEWARK
 JAN 10 1970



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
January 8, 1970

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On January 7, 1970, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that the following poem, "An Ode to the Panthers,"
was received on January 7, 1970, by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he had no explanation for
the fact [REDACTED] received this letter

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is
attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER
RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS
OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR
AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE
NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

105-165706-8-138
-138

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105-165706-8-138 enclosure page 2

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A MEMORIAL TO THE
TWENTY EIGHT PANTHERS

AN ODE TO THE PANTHERS:

BY:

EDDIE EDWARDS

WHO WERE MURDERED BY THE "PIGS".

I

HIS FUR IS SLEEK AND BLACK, HIS FANG IS SHARP
AND POTENT, HE IS FAST, HIS SENSE OF SMELL IS KEEN.
HE IS A SMART BLACK ANIMAL AND HE CAN BE MEAN.
OF THIS THERE IS AN ANSWER, EVERYONE KNOWS THE "PIGS"
MADE HIM A PANTHER.

2

HE LOVE HIS FREEDOM FIRST, FOR IT HE WILL DIE, NO OTHER
ANIMAL CAN SCARE HIM FOR HE IS 'NT THE LEAST BIT SHY,
LIKE ANY ANIMAL IN THE JUNGLE HE FIGHT TO THE LAST,
AND ONLY GIVE UP, WITH HIS LAST DYING GASP.

3

NOW MANY ANIMALS HAVE BEEN KILLED BY HUNTERS WHO DISCRIMINATE,
WHO KILL WITH LUST BECAUSE THEY MUST, IN ORDER TO ILLUMINATE.
MANY PANTHERS HAVE BEEN KILLED SOME IN RED SHOT IN THE HEAD,
BY PIGS WHO WAS JEALOUS, OBSCENE, AND AFRAID.

4

IF THE "PIGS" KEEP KILLING PANTHERS FOR NO REASON AT ALL,
THEN THIS WORLD ISNT FIT FOR LIVING, NO NOT EVEN FOR A HOG.
IF WE MUST DIE TO BE FREE, AND MURDERED IN RED,
THEN LET SEND EVERY BASTARD "PIG" ON A HEAD.

5

IN THIS LAND OF OURS LET EVERY "PIG" TAKE NOTE, IF WE DONT GET JUSTICE
THEN WE HAVE AN ANTIDOTE, WE ONLY WANT WHAT BELONG TO US, FOR WE WILL NOT
DIE AGAIN IN VAIN, FOR IF WE HAVE TO, WE WILL SEND LOTS OF "PIGS" TO HELL
WITHOUT THEIR BRAINS.

3

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7064) (P)

DATE: 1/29/70

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
DOCUMENT "REVOLUTION AND
EDUCATION"
BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
ARL - SMITH ACT OF 1940

(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

Re Boston letter to San Francisco, dated 11/25/69
and Bureau letter to San Francisco, dated 1/10/70.

Enclosed for San Francisco and Denver is one
copy each of photograph of [REDACTED]

It is the practice of the Selective Service System
of North Carolina not to make Selective Service records or
the information therein available to the FBI except in those
cases wherein Selective Service violations are present.

It should be noted that the enclosed photographs
to San Francisco and Denver are copies of a picture which
appeared in the 1964 annual of the West Charlotte, N. C.,
High School.

On 1/21/70, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] has no
handwriting of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that he would attempt
through his sources to obtain known handwriting of [REDACTED]

- SI-111
- (2) - Bureau
 - 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 1) (157-1204)
 - 2 - Denver (Enc. 1) (157-403)
 - 2 - Charlotte

LDP:sjw
(8)

REC-11

105-165706-8-137

17 FEB 2 1970

RECEIVED
FBI

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CE 157-7064

LEAD:

CHARLOTTE:

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will maintain contact with the [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] in an effort to obtain known handwriting
of [REDACTED]

If known handwriting is obtained these samples
will be forwarded to the FBI-Laboratory for handwriting
comparisons.

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SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

February 5, 1970

Director, FBI (105-165706 sub 8)--134

123

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Charlotte Field Guidance
Folder
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

Reurlet dated 1/27/70 entitled "Black Panther Party, Racial Matters" which set forth leads concerning numerous long-distance toll calls.

The Bureau recognizes the need to obtain current information concerning [REDACTED] of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in ~~Connecticut~~ who now resides at the residence of [REDACTED] Greensboro, North Carolina, whose telephone was involved in the toll calls which prompted relet. However, it is not felt that credit and criminal checks and informant contacts are warranted unless a review of office indices concerning subscriber to the telephone number in question produces positive information making such checks advisable. Therefore, recipient offices of relet should confine their coverage of the leads in this matter to ascertaining the subscribers to the indicated telephone numbers and a review of office indices provided no additional inquiries appear to be necessary following these checks.

In view of the ever-increasing demands being made upon Bureau Agents investigating racial matters, general leads as set forth in relet should be discontinued in the absence of specific information which would support the necessity for such investigation. Your office should not interpret the above instructions to mean that requests for investigation by other divisions should be restricted when information in your possession justifies the requested investigation. However, every effort should be made to

MAILED 24

FEB 5 1970

COMM-FBI

1 - Birmingham
1 - Jacksonville
1 - New York City (100-161993)
1 - San Francisco

GES:ekw (9)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

55 FEB 17 1970

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, Charlotte
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
105-165706 sub 8

restrict "shotgun" type leads, particularly when several offices are involved and such leads show little promise for positive results.

NOTE: The Charlotte Division in its efforts to thoroughly investigate the BPP has recently been setting out "shotgun" type leads. Above instructions set forth since it is felt that such leads overtax the resources of recipient offices in areas where time can be more positively utilized.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 1/7/70

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16)

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

- (2 - BUREAU
- 2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)
- 1 - SF
- 1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

[REDACTED] says that their papers are being tampered with. They are soaked with water, sent to other cities, and not given to them when they are at the airport. He says they have a lawyer working on it but she is on vacation now. They also talked about selling newspapers on the campus's in the Winston-Salem area.

REC-15

105-165706-8-133

JAN 28 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 SUB-I) DATE: 1/23/70

FROM : SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM

Re Albany letter to Bureau dated 1/16/70 enclosing

[REDACTED]
Albany, N. Y.

It is noted that the [REDACTED] furnished by Albany failed to reflect [REDACTED] within the Charlotte Division but listed only fact that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] at Albany, New York.

For information of Albany Division, Jacksonville and Sneads Ferry, N. C., is in the immediate vicinity of Camp Lejeune, N. C., a major Marine Corps installation.

No further action can be taken by Charlotte at this time until further data is received from Albany as to possible identities of the individuals [REDACTED]

2-Bureau (RM)
2-Albany (RM)
2-Charlotte
THG:gjc
(6)

REC-15

105-165706-8-132

9 JAN 23 1970

RECEIVED
FBI SECT.



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

F B I

Date: 12/23/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - RAIDS
 RACIAL MATTERS - SEDITIONARY CONSPIRACY
 SMITH ACT OF 1940

Re Bureau airtel to SAC, Albany, and others dated 12/4/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of LHM captioned as above.

It is noted that copies of the legal documents filed in USDC for the Western District of North Carolina, Charlotte, N. C., mentioned in the enclosed LHM have been furnished the Bureau and the Department in their entirety. The suit has not been set for trial as of 12/23/69.

Copy to TSR, C.A. (157-100)
 by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
 date 1/15/70
 by 465/act

EX-112
 REC-80

105-165706-8-13

DEC 30 1969

2 - Bureau (Encls. 8)
 2 - Charlotte

THG:rep
 (4)

58 JAN 30 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
 Special Agent in Charge

1/0



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
December 23, 1969

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - RAIDS
RACIAL MATTERS - SEDITION CONSPIRACY
SMITH ACT OF 1940**

On December 23, 1969, [REDACTED] Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division, United States Internal Revenue Service, 316 East Morehead Street, Charlotte, North Carolina, advised that on May 27, 1969, the Black Panther Party (BPP) Headquarters, 316 South Turner Street, Charlotte, North Carolina, was entered in an attempt to arrest JAMES CURTIS COVINGTON, JR., on federal charges of falsifying documents and obtaining a firearm. The raiding party consisted of twelve law enforcement officers: himself and two others from the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division; eight Charlotte city officers; and two Mecklenburg County officers. At the time they entered the house at 316 South Turner Street, he believed there to be nine men and two women present. As he recalled, present were JAMES CURTIS COVINGTON, TONY ALFORD, VERONICA HAGENS, and GEORGE BENJAMIN HAIRSTON. MICHAEL LANEY came in while the raid was in progress. Seized during the raid were three 7 millimeter German Mouser rifles, three .22 caliber rifles, one Japanese-made 6.5 millimeter rifle, and one 12 gauge Remington shotgun. COVINGTON was arrested on the federal warrant, and MICHAEL LANEY was arrested for interfering with the arrest of COVINGTON and threatening Special Agent STAN NOEL of the Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms Division.

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AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE
NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

2-131
ENCLOSURE

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - RAIDS

[REDACTED] Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, Intelligence Unit, advised his reason for participating in the raid on the Panther Headquarters at 316 South Turner Street was due to the fact the Charlotte Police Department had a Conspiracy to Commit Armed Robbery Warrant outstanding for JEROME CLIFTON JOHNSON at the time the raid was conducted on May 27, 1969.

It is noted that on June 6, 1969, in the United States District Court for the Western District of North Carolina, Charlotte, North Carolina, a civil suit was filed. Plaintiffs were as follows:

BEN CHAVIS and wife JACQUELINE CHAVIS,
JAMES COVINGTON, JR., THOMAS COLEMAN,
VERONICA HAGENS, MRS. MENTZIE JOHNSON,
CORDELL KENNEDY, MARY SMITH, ART
LYNCH, JR., CORNELIUS WASHINGTON,

and

HUGH G. CASEY, JR., next friend of TONY ALFORD,
ANGEIA COLEMAN, JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, G. BENJAMIN
HAIRSTON, MICHAEL LANEY, RUDOLPH NASH, and
TALVIN JOHNSON

Defendants were as follows:

J. C. GOODMAN, JR., Chief, and L. H. OWENS,
ANGEL JOSEPH EUROPA, KENNETH R. TEMPLE,
EARL F. FESPERMAN, H. M. WHITE, and JOHN
DUE, members of the Charlotte, North Carolina,
Police Department,

L. A. KELLY, JR., Chief, and E. O. BROOKS,
L. L. DAVIS, and RICHARD ROE, members of
the Mecklenburg County, North Carolina,
Police Department,

LYNWOOD HARTON, Special Agent, North Carolina
State Bureau of Investigation,

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - RAIDS

STANLEY NOEL, Special Agent, Alcohol,
Tobacco, and Firearms Division, United
States Treasury Department,

DEAN PARMANN, Special Agent, Federal Bureau
of Investigation, United States Department
of Justice, and JOHN KILROY

As a portion of the Complaint and Motion For
Temporary Restraining Order and Motion For Preliminary
Injunction, copies of which are in possession of the United
States Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of
Investigation, Washington, D. C., it sets forth that
plaintiffs COVINGTON, HAIRSTON, KENNEDY, LYNCH, NASH, SMITH,
HAGENS, and DOUGLAS were present at the "People's House,"
May 27, 1969, with plaintiffs ALFORD and LANEY arriving
while the raid was in progress. However, the suit sets
forth that some thirty or forty law enforcement officers
were present during the raid.

A portion of the above information is included in
memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated July 24, 1969,
captioned "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA,
RACIAL MATTERS."

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP)
is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED DURING ALL
ENCOUNTERS WITH MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES OF THE BLACK PANTHER
PARTY AS THEY ARE REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO PREARRANGE THE
LOCATION OF INTERVIEWS IN ORDER TO KILL FBI AGENTS. DUE TO
THEIR PROVEN RECORD OF ATTEMPTS TO KILL POLICE OFFICERS, ALL
BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES ARE CONSIDERED
ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by BOBBY SEALE, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, its Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 15 to 18 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in its revolutionary program for the end of oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against all oppressors who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by the Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people. colored persons of America, revolt everywhere. Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "We are all now dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

F B I

Date: 1/8/70

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)
 RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by
 (SF T-16) a highly confidential source on
 1/7/70.

An individual named [redacted] from Greensboro, North Carolina contacted BPP Headquarters in Berkeley, California, talking to one of the officials, namely [redacted] said that he was working with [redacted] (phonetic) and another individual named [redacted], last name not given. (It will be noted that in the past an individual from New Haven, named [redacted] had been in the North Carolina area.) [redacted] said that he had come down to Greensboro from the New Haven Chapter. [redacted] said at this time [redacted] was in New York to attend the funeral of his sister. In the absence of [redacted] said he wanted permission to teach the political education class. [redacted] wanted to know if this class was being held under the NCCF or the BPP, and was informed it was under the NCCF. In that case [redacted] said that it would be alright for [redacted] to teach the class. [redacted] furnished his Greensboro telephone number as 919-[redacted] and further advised that his telephone number in Connecticut had been 203-[redacted] said that this telephone was still in operation and it was for his

- ② - Bureau (105-165706-Sub 8)
 3 - Charlotte (157-6171)
 2 - New Haven (100-19186)
 2 - San Francisco

WAC:ajz
 (9)

REC-5

EX-111

JAN 10 1970

Approved: [Signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

RACIAL INT. SECT.

57 JAN 27 1970

SF 157-2861
WAC:ajz

home in Connecticut.

New Haven is requested to furnish Charlotte with any pertinent information it has in its possession concerning [REDACTED]

The above material is being furnished to the Charlotte Office to indicate the renewed activity on the part of the BPP representation in North Carolina.

F B I

Date: 12/18/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by
 (SF T-22), a highly confidential source, on
 12/17/69:

A man spelling his name as [REDACTED] and
 [REDACTED] (source was not clear as to the exact spelling
 of the name) from Greensboro, N.C., contacted [REDACTED]
 at BPP Newspaper Headquarters in San Francisco, California,
 on 12/17/69. Source said [REDACTED] made two contacts. On
 the first occasion, he ordered 300 newspapers, 15 record
 albums, and ten boxes of Christmas cards.

[REDACTED] who was working in the newspaper office
 told [REDACTED] that LARRY LITTLE had just departed from Head-
 quarters to Greensboro. [REDACTED] said he did not know LARRY
 LITTLE. [REDACTED] then mentioned to [REDACTED] that [REDACTED]
 had requested that he call and advise Headquarters there would
 be only "three of them" in N.C. over Christmas, as the rest
 were going home. (It would appear that this group was from
 a college.)

- 2 - Bureau
- 4 - Charlotte (157-6171)
- 4 - San Francisco
- (1 - [REDACTED])
- (1 - [REDACTED])
- (1 - 157-1581) (PUBLICATIONS)

WAC/pae
(10)

REC-72

105-165706-8-129

B DEC 20 1969

116

59 JAN 20 1970

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SF 157-2861
WAC/pae

In a subsequent call, [REDACTED] talked to [REDACTED] at the newspaper, ordering 300 papers for OSCAR WATSON, also in Greensboro. [REDACTED] gave his address and telephone number as [REDACTED] Greensboro, telephone no. 919 [REDACTED]

The above material is being furnished to Charlotte for its information.

F B I

Date: 12/31/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM-BPP

Re Los Angeles letter to Charlotte, 12/15/69.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies and Los Angeles 2 copies of an LHM captioned, [REDACTED] RM-BPP."

Referenced Los Angeles letter set forth that [REDACTED] of the Central Office of the Los Angeles BPP, 4115 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. Among the calls listed was one on 10/6/69, to Fayetteville, N. C., telephone 919-[REDACTED]

CE T-1 is [REDACTED]

CE T-2 is [REDACTED] and furnished [REDACTED] information to SA [REDACTED] SA [REDACTED] conducted the investigation at Fayetteville, N. C.

A copy of this LHM has been furnished to 111th MIG, Fayetteville, N. C., for their information. In view of the fact [REDACTED] is a member of the U. S. Army, no further investigation will be conducted concerning him.

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR
ADD. DISSEMINATION.

- (2 - Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles (Encs. 2)
- 1 - Charlotte

THG:jat
(5)

AGENCY:

ENCLOSURE

105-165706-8-128
[REDACTED]Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
December 31, 1969

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Information was received from CE T-1 that a call was made from the central office of the Los Angeles Black Panther party, 4115 South Central Avenue, Los Angeles, California, telephone number 235-4127, on October 6, 1969, to Fayetteville, North Carolina, telephone 919- [REDACTED].

A check of the current issue of the Fayetteville criss cross directory on December 24, 1969, reflects telephone number [REDACTED] is listed to [REDACTED]. The 1969 issue of the Fayetteville City Directory has a listing for a [REDACTED] residing [REDACTED] Fayetteville, who is employed by the [REDACTED] Fayetteville.

On December 24, 1969, [REDACTED] post Locator, Fort Bragg, North Carolina, advised the current personnel roster contains the name of [REDACTED] assigned to [REDACTED].

On December 24, 1969, [REDACTED] Fayetteville advised her files contain the following relating [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

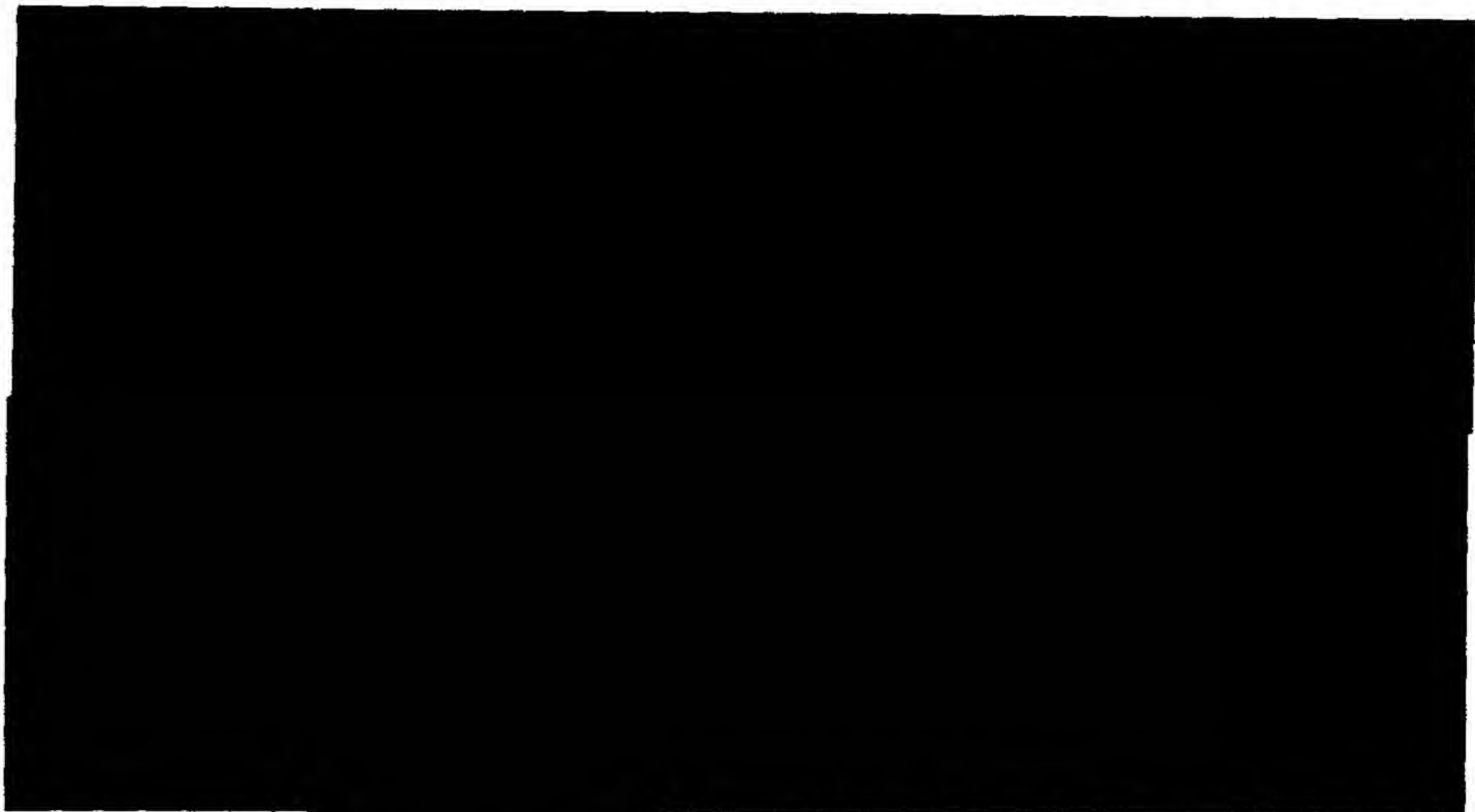
THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

ENCLOSURE

105-165

126

RE: WALLACE ADAMWAY



[REDACTED] 11th Military Intelligence Group, Fayetteville, advised the name of [REDACTED] is unfamiliar to him as being associated with the Black Panther party in the Fort Bragg-Fayetteville area and his files do not contain either name.

On December 24, 1969, CE T-2 advised the name of [REDACTED] is unfamiliar to him as being engaged in any racial demonstration or connected with any black organization in the Fayetteville area.

A characterization of the Black Panther party is attached as an appendix to this memorandum.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by ROBERT GEORGE MURRAY, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

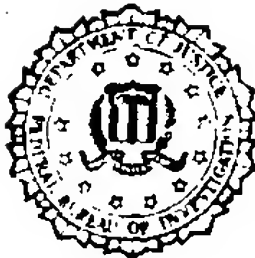
"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education GEORGE MASON MURRAY which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite. Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "... we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

December 31, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Title

[REDACTED]

Character

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reference

Memorandum at Charlotte, North
Carolina, dated and captioned as
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

 1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

 Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

 105-165706-8-127

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XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 12/23/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336 1/2

Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

2 - BUREAU

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

1 - SF

1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

12-20-69

[REDACTED] from Winston Salem to UNW for [REDACTED] telling him he sent \$200 via Western Union and that they shouldn't send any more papers for a while because they are way behind.

REC 25 105-165706-8- 126

50 JAN 14 1970

JAN 9 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 12/23/69

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-22).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco Chapter Headquarters, 1336 & 1336 1/2 Fillmore, San Francisco, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2) - BUREAU

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

1 - SF

1- (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

12-17-69
[REDACTED] TO DELTA AIRLINES.. [REDACTED] made reservations for 10:20p this date to Winston-Salem, N.C. [REDACTED] is also bringing back xxxk 12 cartons on newspapers.

REC-89

EX 100 105-165706-8-125

57 JAN 15 1970

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FBI

Date: 12/31/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (SUB 8)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by
[REDACTED] (SF T-22) (a highly confidential source) on
12/29/69.

[REDACTED], who has been in the San Francisco
Bay area, around Headquarters for a short time before
returning to Charlotte Division, contacted Black Panther
Party Newspaper Headquarters from Winston - Salem, North
Carolina, on 12/29/69. [REDACTED] said that he had sent \$225
in cash to the Black Panther Newspaper, which [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] acknowledged receiving. [REDACTED] com-
plained that their papers were being delayed, that one
box was missing and that two boxes had been ruined by
water. [REDACTED] said that he would handle this with the
airline because the shipment was insured.

[REDACTED] ordered 3,000 papers for the following
week.

- 2 - Bureau
- 3 - Charlotte (157-6171)
- 3 - San Francisco
(1 - 157-) [REDACTED]
(1 - 157-1581) (Publications)

WAC:mba
(8)

EX-114

15 JAN 2 1970

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

59 JAN 14 1970

387

SF 157-2861
WAC:mba

The above material reflects the continued activity on behalf of the Black Panther Party in the Charlotte Division.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

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- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-123 page 1

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

TELETYPE SAC CHARLOTTE
RE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

UPON COMPLETION OF INTERVIEWS ADVISE BUREAU BY AIRTEL
NATURE OF INQUIRY ALONG WITH OTHER MATTERS IN WHICH
DEPARTMENT INDICATES SPECIAL INTEREST.

NOTE:

The Special Interdivisional Unit of the Department was formed by the Attorney General for the purpose of instituting Federal prosecution against the Black Panther Party and associated groups throughout the United States and any areas where sufficient evidence available to support Federal prosecution. Williamson made the above request at 10:45 a. m., 1/7/70, immediately prior to his departure for [REDACTED]. The Department is currently attempting to obtain sufficient evidence to present to a Federal Grand Jury seeking a Smith Act indictment.

[REDACTED]

January 5, 1970

CODE

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

URGENT

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

TO SAC CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (105-165706)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RACIAL MATTERS,
SMITH ACT OF 1940

DEPARTMENTAL ATTORNEY LLOYD WILLIAMSON, SPECIAL
INTERDIVISIONAL UNIT OF THE DEPARTMENT, PLANS TO BE IN

[REDACTED] ON JANUARY SEVEN AND EIGHT NEXT IF [REDACTED]

IS AVAILABLE AND WILLING TO BE INTERVIEWED, PARTICULARLY
REGARDING BPP DOCUMENT "REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION" BY ELDRIDGE
CLEAVER. [REDACTED]

ABOVE UNIT FORMED BY ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR PURPOSE OF
INSTITUTING FEDERAL PROSECUTION AGAINST BPP AND ATTORNEYS
FOR UNIT ARE TRAVELING AROUND COUNTRY INTERVIEWING INFORMANTS
TO EVALUATE PROSECUTIVE POTENTIAL UNDER SMITH ACT.

19 JAN 7 1970

ABF:ekw
(4)

VIA TELETYPE

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

JAN 5 1970

5:21 PM WJM
ENCIPHERED

MAILED 1970 TELETYPE UNIT

TELETYPE TO SAC, CHARLOTTE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
105-165706

SUTEL BY CLOSE OF BUSINESS TODAY WHETHER INFORMANT
AVAILABLE AND AGREEABLE TO INTERVIEW WITH DEPARTMENTAL
ATTORNEY SO LATTER CAN FINALIZE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS.
ATTORNEY WILL CONTACT SAC UPON ARRIVAL AND WILL HANDLE
INTERVIEW AT TIME AND PLACE CONVENIENT TO INFORMANT INCLUDING
NIGHT INTERVIEW. UPON COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW, ADVISE BUREAU
BY AIRTEL NATURE OF INQUIRY ALONG WITH OTHER MATTERS^{IN} WHICH
DEPARTMENT INDICATES SPECIAL INTEREST.

NOTE:

Departmental Attorney Williamson advised of above
travel morning of 1/5/70. The Department has previously
received communications containing information furnished
by this informant who has indicated a willingness to testify.
The Department is particularly interested in above document
since it calls for violent overthrow of the Government.

1 - [REDACTED]
1 - [REDACTED]

1-6-70

CODE

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (105-165706)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RACIAL MATTERS, SMITH ACT
OF NINETEEN FORTY.

REBUTEL JANUARY FIVE LAST AND CHARLOTTE TELEPHONE CALL
THIS DATE.

DEPARTMENTAL ATTORNEY LLOYD WILLIAMSON WILL ARRIVE

[REDACTED] NORTH CAROLINA, AT [REDACTED], JANUARY SEVEN
NEXT ABOARD EASTERN FLIGHT [REDACTED] FROM WASHINGTON,
D.C. ARRANGE TO MEET WILLIAMSON AND ARRANGE HIS INTERVIEW
WITH [REDACTED]

UPON COMPLETION OF INTERVIEW ADVISE BUREAU BY AIRTEL
NATURE OF INQUIRY ALONG WITH OTHER MATTERS IN WHICH
DEPARTMENT INDICATES SPECIAL INTEREST.

ABF:hls
(4)

VIA TELETYPE
JAN 6 1970
5:56 PM EST
ENCIPHERED

NOTE: In response to rebutel, Charlotte telephonically advised
this date that [REDACTED] would be available for interview to
Departmental Attorney but suggested interview take place in
[REDACTED] rather than [REDACTED] since [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] is more convenient. Charlotte also
advised [REDACTED] would be in [REDACTED] morning of 1-7-70 and
available.

REC 67 105-165706-8-121
19 JAN 7 1970

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

15 JAN 12 1970
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

F B I

Date: 12/17/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)
 CHARLOTTE DIVISION
 RM - BPP

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 12/1/69.

Referenced airtel sets forth information from [REDACTED] (SFT-22), that on 11/26/69, [REDACTED] (LAST NAME NOT GIVEN) telephone number 919-[REDACTED] was in contact with the Black Panther Distribution Office, San Francisco, claiming trouble with the people in Winston-Salem concerning BPP newspapers. During the conversation, [REDACTED] mentioned that another man named [REDACTED] (PHONETIC) "might be there." This was not further explained.

[REDACTED] would undoubtedly be [REDACTED] who has previously visited the BPP headquarters and is subject of Charlotte file [REDACTED]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
 3 - San Francisco (2-157-2861)
 (1-157-[REDACTED])
 5 - Charlotte (2-157-6171)
 (1-157-[REDACTED])
 (2-157-NEW) [REDACTED]

THG:jat
 (10)

REC-121

105-165706-8-120

1969

DEC 18

S

JAN 12 1970

59 JAN 12 1970

- Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

Charlotte indices negative regarding [REDACTED]
or [REDACTED]

LEADS:SAN FRANCISCOAT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

[REDACTED] Will be alert to the arrival of [REDACTED] or
[REDACTED] at the BPP headquarters.

CHARLOTTEAT GREENSBORO, N. C.

[REDACTED] Will open separate case regarding [REDACTED]
fully identifying subject and obtaining photograph and be
alert to his travel to BPP headquarters.

[REDACTED]

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

December 16, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -
DOCUMENT "REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION"
BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
RACIAL MATTERS; SEDITION CONSPIRACY
SMITH ACT OF 1940

The following information was furnished by CE T-10
concerning the pamphlet "Revolution and Education," by
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER: (U)

[REDACTED] (C)

Concerning the use of the information as obtained
in the pamphlet for the teaching of political education,
T-10 advised that on July 22, 1969, a Black Panther Party
retreat in the form of a workshop was held at St. Andrews
Church, Oakland, California, with approximately 150 individuals
attending.

[REDACTED] (U)

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY. CONFIDENTIAL

Downgraded to Confidential
Classified by 6049 on 5-27-77
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite PC/vew

ENCLOSURE A

105-165700-2-119

The Progressive Labor Party, pretending to uphold the Cultural Revolution and the Thought of Mao, has come forth with a series of positions and carried them out in practice, which in fact run counter to all the main lessons of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions as well as the struggle for Black Liberation in America. Superficially it seems absurd to contend that a group whose rhetoric sounds so militant and whose practice often involves considerable personal sacrifice on the part of its members and who, in words, oppose the counterrevolutionary revisionist trend in the world revolutionary movement and uphold the world-historic Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, could, itself, become an obstacle to revolution.

The deterioration of the Progressive Labor Party is a great disappointment to all genuine revolutionaries. In the early stages of the Party's development it made a number of significant contributions: it took a principled stand before the House Un-American Committee; it raised anti-imperialist consciousness through its support of the Cuban people's struggle against the United States' ruling class; it supported the Black Liberation movement and contributed to the defeat of pacifist ideas in that struggle and in the anti-war movement; it played a key role in the anti-war movement, through the organization of the May 2 movement which it launched and helped practically and ideologically. Its most important contribution during that period was its separation from and opposition to the revisionist Communist Party and the whole international revisionist trend.

Those promising early beginnings have turned into their opposite. Today the leadership of the PLP has completely embraced "left" opportunism, both theoretically and practically. The chief characteristic of "left" opportunism (and why "left" is enclosed in quotes) is the use of revolutionary phraseology and rhetoric in order to oppose in practice the struggles of the people. In other words, because a "left" line undermines the struggle, an objective unity is created with right revisionists who seek to water down the struggle and strip it of its revolutionary soul. In so doing, "left" opportunists serve the imperialists objectively, accomplishing for them within the ranks of the people what open supporters of imperialism are unable to accomplish. Hence while "left" in form they are right in essence. It is for this reason that we refer to it as revisionism's twin brother.

"Left" opportunism manifests itself in a variety of ways and, as Lenin says, crops up in the most unexpected places. It often takes the form of adventurism, or "fighting when you cannot win." (It may be contrasted with conservatism, or "not fighting when you can win.") In the important sphere of revolutionary strategy, it upholds a mistaken view of the necessary stage of struggle that the revolution must go through. "Left" opportunists put forward the slogans for a more advanced stage of struggle in order to oppose struggles at the present stage, attempting thereby to "skip" necessary stages. In contrast "left" opportunism assumes the posture of "all struggle and no alliance," whereas right opportunism upholds "all alliance and no struggle," thereby submerging itself under the leadership of another class and abandoning its independent role. Both trends have no real confidence in the masses and fail to apply the mass line. "Left" opportunism refuses to learn from the people, systematize their ideas, meet their immediate needs and point the way forward. Organizationally it substitutes "serving the organization" for "serving the people."

No party or revolutionary movement can ever be free from these errors. In fact it is the struggle against these errors within the revolutionary ranks and within the mass movement that steels our forces and enables us to advance. As Mao says, without such ideological struggle our ranks will be swamped with liberalism and we will accomplish nothing. Nevertheless, these errors arise in varying degrees of seriousness. When they systematize themselves, and crystallize organizationally into a definite trend, they become problems of a different stripe. For example, when Lenin polemicized against "left-wing communism, an infantile disorder," he recognized that this "leftist" disease which cropped up in the newly formed parties of the Third International was a problem of youth, of honest mistakes arising from ignorance, excessive zeal, or underdeveloped theory. The important thing was not that people were making serious errors but that these errors could be corrected through timely and sharp criticism. The rise of Trotskyism presented the opposite problem. Trotskyism began with a series of "left" errors but persisted in them, systematized them, placed itself in opposition to every healthy trend in the international communist movement, opposed socialism wherever it was established and finally became outright agents of the ruling class.

The class roots of these views are in the petit bourgeoisie and the tiny upper crust of labor aristocrats within the working class. The wealth of U.S. imperialism, the systematic fostering of the ideology of racism, national supremacy, etc., enables the ruling class to make inroads into the ranks

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of revolutionaries. The considerable influence of middle class and formerly middle class elements due to the historical peculiarities of the movement in the U.S. means that we must multiply our vigilance in preventing imperialist ideology from dominating the movement of masses and blunting the growing revolutionary upsurge. It also must be borne in mind that since revisionism is clearly the primary danger within revolutionary ranks, it cannot be fought effectively with simply another variety of revisionism masked in "left" phrases,

THE VIETNAMESE WAR OF NATIONAL LIBERATION AND REUNIFICATION

PLP's Incorrect Theory of Stages

The position of the Progressive Labor Party on the Vietnamese people's struggle for national liberation and reunification is a prime example of these "left" errors. The Chinese have correctly pointed out that the principal contradiction in the world today, the one whose solution is key to solving all other contradictions, the one that is sharpest, is the contradiction between the U.S. imperialist ruling class and the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. In the world today the sharpest manifestation of that principal contradiction is the struggle being waged by the people of South Vietnam and their brothers in the North against the ruling circles in the United States and their puppets in Saigon.

The February issue of Progressive Labor magazine expresses quite clearly their inability to grasp the principal contradiction of our time and its particularity in the Vietnamese people's war. They advocate a totally confused notion of the stages of struggle and the methods for advancing the struggle. They state:

We also call upon the Vietnamese workers and peasants to fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only way they can determine their destiny.² (italics added)

Further:

If the imperialists acted to physically destroy this movement we would support it against imperialism. We would support it by fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only solution.³

And again:

This is our attitude in regard to Vietnam. Though we no longer believe that the Vietnamese leadership is fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat, we support the efforts of the people against imperialism and demand the U.S. Get Out Now, regardless of what type of government the Vietnamese wish to set up.⁴

PLP has advanced a clever combination of false ideology and tricknology. The trick is to suggest that the Vietnamese have abandoned some earlier goal to fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat when in fact they never put forward that formulation as their immediate goal. The second trick is to proclaim "support" but to qualify that support by making it contingent on "fighting for the dictatorship of the proletariat." If the dictatorship of the proletariat is not the correct goal at this stage, as we will show, then such "support" comes to nothing but pseudorevolutionary phrasemongering which undermines the struggle and throws confusion into our ranks.

We maintain that Mao's Thought represents the highest expression of Marxism-Leninism in our era. Why do we say that? For one thing, it was Mao and the Chinese Communist Party that solved the problem of how to conduct revolution in a colonial and semi-colonial country, and how to link that revolution up with the socialist revolution. The result was the liberation of one fourth of mankind from feudalism and imperialism and the creation of a body of theory to guide the struggles of other oppressed peoples. Mao pointed out that the revolution is divided into two closely related but separate stages. The two stages are the new-democratic stage and the socialist stage. The first stage establishes the people's democratic dictatorship and the second establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is impossible to reach the socialist stage

1) content footnote. See the writings of Lenin and Stalin, especially the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, by Stalin and the Central

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without first reaching the new-democratic state; and the more thoroughgoing the new-democratic revolution and the more firmly established the leadership of the proletariat in this first stage, the easier will be the transition to socialism. In this way the minimum and maximum program of the Chinese Communist Party forms an indissoluble unity. The theory of the new-democratic revolution maintains that it is possible for the proletariat to lead a revolution of all patriotic classes against imperialism and feudalism. The main force of the revolution is the peasant masses and the workers relying on people's war. The theory of "support" for the Vietnamese thru the dictatorship of the proletariat as the "only way" and the Only solution is a theory of no support at all.

The precedent for this dangerous "theory" may be found in the activities of a small group of Chinese Trotskyites and other "leftists" in China. During the period of the War of Resistance against Japan, they opposed "unity and struggle" with Chang Kai Shek as "class collaboration." During the Third Revolutionary Civil War immediately after the Chinese had blown away the Japanese imperialists, the Trotskyites raised the banner of the "dictatorship of the Proletariat" and opposed the new-democratic state. Mao recognized the danger early and answered the question head-on:

If the capitalist road of bourgeois dictatorship is out of the question, then is it possible to take the socialist road of proletariat dictatorship? No, that is not possible either. Without a doubt, the present revolution is the first step, which will develop into the second step, that of socialism, at a later date... Having determined on their policy, they (the bourgeois reactionaries) have lost no time in hiring some "metaphysics mongers" plus a few Trotskyites who, brandishing their pens like lances, are tilting in all directions and creating bedlam. Hence the whole bag of tricks for deceiving those who do not know what is going on in the world around them... The "theory of a single revolution" is simply a theory of no revolution at all, and that is the heart of the matter.⁵

It is no wonder that Mao regarded Trotsky as a "criminal renegade."

The Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions have certain similarities and certain differences. We do not claim to be experts on the subject but certain facts should be obvious to the leaders of the PLP. What is the situation in Vietnam? The country is divided. The country is experiencing a war of national liberation in one half. The people are totally mobilized and totally united behind their leadership in the waging of people's war. The everyday experiences of the people produce martyrs and heroes in a fashion that is not paralleled in peaceful times. The imperialists in their mad desire to commit genocide on a people produce the opposite. A national cleansing takes place in which the cadre and people are steeled. It can truly be said that the Vietnamese are today waging a war and winning it against odds that have never before been faced by a people. Not even in the base areas of China before final victory had the social relations been as advanced as in North Vietnam. The reunification of all of Vietnam is bound to be decisively influenced by the construction of socialism in the north. At the same time, it would be insane for the Vietnamese not to take into account the differences in the north and south which imperialist occupation has wrought and not proceed in a step by step way to correctly handle those contradictions among the people. To argue for reunification strictly from the program of socialist construction in the north and not on the basis of equality and learning from common experience, would be objectively to prevent the NLF from uniting all patriotic classes against U.S. imperialism and would spell the defeat of people's war.

The NLF, for its part, is a broad, national, democratic coalition. The main force with the NLF is the People's Revolutionary Party (PRP) which works

2) "Black Liberation Program" Progressive Labor (February, 1969), p. 19.

3) Ibid., p. 18.

4) Ibid., p. 19.

5) "On New Democracy," Mao Tse Tung, Selected Works II, p. 358-9.

very closely with its counterpart in the north, the Lao Dong or Worker's Party. The NLF has put forth its goals quite clearly on numerous occasions, the most recent of which was on November 3, 1968. We repeat these here honoring the request of Mrs. Nguyen Thi Binh, deputy head of the NLF delegation in Paris, to "make these positions known to the people of the United States," and as an expression of our international solidarity with the Vietnamese.

1. South Vietnam is absolutely determined to struggle for the achievement of its sacred rights of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality, progress and the country's unification.
2. American imperialism must end the war of aggression and withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops and all war material from South Vietnam and liquidate the military bases.
3. South Vietnam's internal affairs must be settled by the South Vietnamese peoples themselves without foreign interference.
4. The question of reunification must be settled gradually by the Vietnamese people in both parts of the country in a peaceful manner, by means of consultations and agreements, without foreign interference.
5. South Vietnam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. It will not conclude military alliances with foreign countries and will establish friendly relations with all states in conformity with the principles of peaceful coexistence.⁶

It should be noted that the PLP has not yet published these principles and has instead waged a slanderous attack against them, distorting them when possible and opposing what is correct in them.

Any attempt to solve the problems of Vietnam at this stage of the struggle by the "method of socialist revolution" is bound to drive a wedge between the working class and its allies thereby undermining the struggle and guaranteeing the defeat of the revolutionary forces. It is this consequence, i.e. defeat for the people, and not the identity of the view with classic Trotskyism that must be kept uppermost in our minds. We should also not overlook the fact that PL's "theory of stages" is not original but has a precedent of the most degenerate form of "left" opportunism in the communist movement.

PL's scab theory that "all nationalism is reactionary"

The PL leadership, in order to carry out their reactionary line in Vietnam and oppose the Black people's movement have been forced to revise the Marxist-Leninist approach to "nationalism" but yet are parading as supporters of the Thought of Mao. "All nationalism is reactionary" sums up the view of PLP on the subject. As we will see, the denial of the new-democratic stage means embracing the ideology of white national chauvinism. It means contempt for the national existence of the Vietnamese people and is a crude attempt at national nihilism. In its most sophisticated form (which is seldom expressed except when PL has their backs to the wall), they argue that "nationalism as an ideology is reactionary" or "the latter loyalty--internationalism--is a fundamental Marxist-Leninist idea which runs exactly counter to nationalism."⁷ One really has to marvel at this deep grasp of dialectics. Is not the "set of ideas" called nationalism the opposite of, does it not run exactly counter to internationalism? All that PL's proposition proves is that they have not gone beyond the schoolboy logic of Aristotle. They rest content with formal logic without the slightest understanding of dialectical logic. Nationalism does not float around us as an ideology in the abstract. It always manifests a particular class content as part of a real social process reflecting objective laws and undergoing an evolution. Lenin made this very clear when he stated:

In my writings on the national question, I have already said that an abstract presentation of the question of nationalism is of no use at all. A distinction must necessarily be made between the nationalism of an oppressor nation, and that of an oppressed nation,

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Jeff Gordon, a PL spokesman at the April SDS national meeting, argued, while the PL's line was going down to stunning defeat, that "anyone can quote from the Marxist classics on both sides of the question." No, Mr. Gordon, you can't throw up that kind of a smokescreen so characteristic of the enemy. We won't let you out of our noose! It is not a matter of book worship, or isolated quotes—it is a question of the running thread in all the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao on the national question. Due to the general ignorance on this question it is necessary to resuscitate some of the key ideas as they have been developed through the Marxist classics.

Marx and Engels noticed very early that the national liberation movement in Ireland was a prerequisite to the victory of the working class in England. But to come to this conclusion they had to reverse their previous view:

For a long time I believed that it would be possible to overthrow the Irish regime by working class ascendancy. I always expressed this point of view in the New York Tribune. Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will never accomplish anything before it has got rid of Ireland. That is why the Irish question is so important for the social movement in general.⁹

Marx never fully developed the national and colonial question into a systematic theory, largely due to the infancy of imperialism. It remained for Lenin, and Stalin after him, to develop the theory of the national question in the epoch of imperialism. Historically, the rise of nationalism was associated with bourgeois nationalism and was not challenged by nationalism led by any other class. The modern nation was itself a product of the bourgeoisie's need for a homogeneous internal market appropriate to the growing productive forces. The decisive turn came when capitalism developed into imperialism and prevented other nations and peoples from forming nation-states. Even during the time of Lenin's writings all nations were divided into either oppressed colonial nations or oppressing imperialist nations. There was still the possibility that the rising bourgeoisie in the oppressed nations could lead the national liberation struggle. It had still not been proven that the proletariat, and the proletariat alone, could become the leading class in alliance with the others in the oppressed nation and establish genuine independence from imperialism.

It should not be surprising that the Bolsheviks were, at first, primarily concerned with the categories appropriate to the socialist revolution in the west and the rising national movements of Eastern Europe. But following the October revolution, revolts in the colonial nations began to take on a new ferocity while the revolution in the west, after a brief upsurge, began to temporarily wane. It was Trotsky and not Lenin or Stalin who dogmatically clung to the idea of an imminent socialist revolution in the west and who treacherously staked the existence of the first socialist state on it. Stalin recognized that the "national question had merged with the general question of the emancipation of the colonies." And Lenin found it necessary to transform the vocabulary of revolution in order to reflect the new developments. In order to expose the vacillating bourgeoisie in the oppressed nation, to oppose their program, and to clearly support the people, he stated:

But here objections were raised that if we speak of the bourgeois democratic movement, all distinction between the reformist and the revolutionary movements will be obliterated...we decided that the only correct thing was to take into account and in nearly all cases substitute the term "national-revolutionary" for the term "bourgeois-democratic."¹⁰

Clearly the general trend reflecting deep objective processes, and not a few isolated quotes, was toward an increasing recognition of the progressive aspects of nationalism and their relation to the socialist revolution. The Chinese Polemic

6) "From the New Left," Davidson, Guardian, January 11, 1967, p. 7.

7) "Editorial" Progressive Labor (February, 1969), p. 9.

8) V.I. Lenin, "The Question of Nationalities or 'Autonomization'", The Awakening of Asia (Progress Publishers), p. 64.

9) Cited by Lenin in Collected Works, Vol. 20, p. 430.

10) V.I. Lenin, "Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions to the 2nd Congress of the Communist International," Collected Works, Vol. 31.

with the Soviets states the matter precisely:

On the national question the world outlook of the proletarian party is internationalism and not nationalism. In the revolutionary struggle it supports progressive nationalism and opposes reactionary nationalism. It must always draw a clear line of demarcation between itself and bourgeois nationalism, to which it must never fall captive.¹¹

The extension of the revolutionary movement to the most oppressed nations and among the most oppressed peoples sharpened Marxist theory on the national question in three ways. At no time will "nationalism" be treated in the abstract as a metaphysical category. (1) It was essential to unite the nation against the foreign imperialism. Mao states:

Can a communist who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot? We hold that he not only can be but must be. The specific content of patriotism is determined by historical conditions. There is the "patriotism" of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler, and there is our patriotism. Communists must resolutely oppose the "patriotism" of the Japanese aggressors and of Hitler... The victory of China and the defeat of the invading imperialists will help the people of other countries. Thus in wars of national liberation, patriotism is applied internationalism.¹² (italics added)

(2) It was also essential to expose the fake "patriotism" and false Nationalism of the Kuomintang and Chang Kai Shok. The whole point is that the struggle for socialism, representing as it does the real interests of the majority, are the real redeemers of the nation and not the miserable handful of enslavers. It is difficult for Americans to grasp this point because our experience has shown us that those who raise the banner of "patriotism" are invariably the most reactionary forces and raise it to at once deny the black people their homeland and to mobilize the country for imperialist adventures. It is the imperialist education system that mystifies the national question always treating it abstractly, thereby covering up its class nature and seeking to convey the idea that nationalism and internationalism "run directly counter" to one another. PL's formulation has its roots in these bourgeois theories. (3) The third manifestation of the national question arises in connection with the minority nationalities within China. Here the fight against Han chauvinism (The Hans were the majority people) was decisive in winning over the fifty-eight minority nationalities to new-democracy and then to socialism.

Faced with the prospect of total isolation, the PL leadership is forced to make a

...principled concession to nationalism because it is within the framework of a serious fight against imperialism. If not for the anti-imperialist struggle there would be no reason for the concession.¹³

This is real metaphysics mongering! Facts state one in the face but are totally disregarded. Instead of recognizing that support for the national liberation struggle is itself a matter of principle, PL reduces such "support" to that of a principled concession. Like pouting children the leaders of the PLP throw a bone to reality. But this is a bone with no meat on it whatsoever.

It is essential that the membership of PL not fall for this sophistic trap. Once the premises of this Trotskyite line are accepted the internal struggle becomes one over tactics and the logic of that struggle leads to further isolation. The criterion of truth is social practice. But social practice based on a false theory sends one deeper into the swamp. The internal pressure to be consistent has led to a repudiation of all nationalism and will ultimately lead to a repudiation of Mao.

How the PLP Focuses on "Negotiations" and Soviet "Aid" to Attack the Vietnamese

At the very moment when Laird and Nixon launch new bombing raids and step up the aggression in Vietnam and expose in deeds their phony "peace talks" ploy, PLP steps up its attack on all phases of the peoples struggle in Vietnam. They

state in their November Challenge:

Everyone knows that liberation and socialism can't be negotiated for. EVERYONE KNOWS THAT THE ONLY WAY SOCIALISM CAN BE WON IS BY DRIVING OUT THE OPPRESSOR. And this is exactly what the Vietnamese people were doing so well until the revisionists in Moscow and Hanoi agreed to sell them out to U.S. imperialism... It seems that the north Vietnamese leaders, by entering the phony negotiations in the first place, are bartering away the hard won efforts of revolutionary forces on the battlefield.¹⁴

Despite a few meaningless utterances to the contrary, PL opposes negotiations in principle. They argue: all the evils of negotiations: "--negotiations, whether in Cambodia or Disneyland are a set back for Peoples War." And again:

Now many good people view the fight over a site as bickering instead of the U.S. being viewed as a barbarous aggressor; the U.S. can only be legitimized by the Vietnamese.

And once more:

The logic of negotiations must adversely affect the morale of all revolutionaries north and south. Once again, inasmuch as there is nothing to really negotiate except the Peoples War in the south, unity between north and south must be undermined by the call for negotiations.¹⁶

But some will say: "You are not really being fair. You are quoting what you want to quote. The PLP has in fact stated that negotiations is a tactic." So we will quote in full this position of PL and see how, in fact, it does not affect our charge at all.

Negotiations, like elections, are no more than tactics whose validity can be judged only by the standard of the strategy for seizing state power from the imperialists for the purpose of setting up a workers' dictatorship over the imperialists. As an example--in 1949 the Chinese Communists engaged in negotiations with the Kuomintang. But first the Communists had shattered the Kuomintang army and put its remnants to flight, had disintegrated its political organization, had isolated the Kuomintang from every section of the Chinese population and had won the support of all the democratic parties and peoples' organizations. As far as the negotiations were concerned the communists insisted that the Kuomintang accept in advance all the communists' terms in their entirety and allowed no bargaining. The purpose of the negotiations, in Mao's words, was to 'reduce many obstacles to our advance into the south and to the takeover of the big cities there...'¹⁷

PL States that "this is an example of the proper tactical use of negotiations."¹⁸ What in fact they do is to choose a given example of negotiations which they feel will support their slander of the Vietnamese. PL makes it sound like this is the ONLY CIRCUMSTANCE under which negotiations is communist practice. PL is saying that total military and political hegemony is the prerequisite for negotiations--that negotiations is the icing on the cake. In fact,

- 11) content footnote
- 12) Mao Tse Tung, Quotations, p. 125
- 13) "Black Liberation Program," Progressive Labor (February, 1969), p. 19.
- 14) "How Low Can You Get?" Progressive Labor (June, 1968), p. 18.
- 15) Ibid.
- 16) Progressive Labor (March-April, 1968), p. 10.
- 17) Editorial, Progressive Labor (Vol. 6, No. 6), February, 1969, p. 7.
- 18) Ibid.

the 1949 negotiations was one tactical move along the long road of the Chinese Revolution. The Chinese people, through the steadfast political and military leadership of the Communist Party had come to learn of the real nature of the Chiang Kai-shek, Kuomintang reactionaries. Therefore the CCP transformed the consciousness of the vast majority of the Chinese people into the policy of insisting on 8 terms for the basis of the negotiations. The content of each of those points was to be struggled out. Mao states on that subject: "We should be firm in principle; we should also have all the flexibility permissible and necessary for carrying out our principles."¹⁹

But was it always the case that each time the Chinese Communist Party entered into negotiations it was under the same conditions and circumstances? Absolutely not. Take for instance the Chungking negotiations in 1945. Mao and the party decided to enter into negotiations with the Kuomintang "in order to make every possible effort for peace and also, in the process of struggling for peace, to show U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek in their true colors and so help unite and educate the masses of people."²⁰ In fact Mao and the party were willing "to make such concessions as are necessary and as do not damage the fundamental interests of the people. Without such concessions, we cannot explode the Kuomintang's civil war plot, cannot gain the political initiative, cannot win the sympathy of world public opinion in exchange for legal status of our Party and a state of peace."²¹ In fact the concessions were quite large -- 8 liberated areas.²² Was this a betrayal of People's War? Was this "Bartering away the hard won efforts of revolutionary forces on the battlefield?" No. It was a tactical advance of that war. This is the genius of Mao Tse Tung -- the ability to grasp the dialectical movement in the real world and to know how to resolve those contradictions in favor of the masses. And it is precisely this which is totally absent from the pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering of the PLP leadership. Even while throwing a bone to negotiations as tactics, the PLP proclaims the absolute, static and counter-revolutionary character of negotiations and places it in opposition to people's war! While Mao tells us:

How to give tit-for-tat depends on the situation. Sometimes, not going to negotiations is tit-for-tat; and sometimes, going to negotiations is also tit-for-tat.²³

It is one thing to recognize that the U.S. seeks to win at the conference table what it loses on the battlefield, to recognize that it uses the talks to spread confusion, demoralization and division within revolutionary ranks, and that the real victories take place in the battlefield. It is quite another thing to totally accept and publicize the imperialists' propaganda on the talks. The U.S. has in no way been "legitimized" by the talks except perhaps in PL's eyes. The morale of the revolutionaries and the worldwide support for the Vietnamese is reaching new heights, while the imperialists, treated by PL as titans who always know exactly what they are doing and who will undoubtedly outsmart the inferior Asians, move from one defeat and disaster to another.

It is true, as PL claims, that the Vietnamese let it be known through Wilfred Burchett that they would exercise "restraint" to give the imperialists no possible fig leaf of an excuse to step up aggressions during the talks. But imperialists being what they are, they went ahead with new provocations. It is important tactically to show clearly again and again that the onus of aggression is on the imperialists thereby helping to win over the vacillating elements and enable more people to grasp the principles at stake. "The dialectics of revolution and counter-revolution, complete with advances and retreats, military and political thrusts, are completely foreign to phrasemongers of the PLP. We know that various tactics, maneuvers, etc. must be subordinated to the overall strategy of people's war and are an inevitable part of the struggle. But it is absolutely not the task of revolutionaries, particularly those in the belly of the beast itself, to arrogantly appoint themselves judges and interpreters of every twist and turn in the struggle of

19) Mao Tse Tung, "Report to the Second Session of the Seventh Central Committee" (Peking: Peoples Publishing House, 1961)

20) "On Peace Negotiations with the Kuomintang," Vol. 4., p. 48 footnote.

21) Ibid., p. 49.

22) "On Chungking Negotiations," p. 56.

23) Ibid.

a fraternal people become "loft-wing Hanologists" waiting like a pack of vultures for every possible or imagined error in order to aggrandize themselves by proving that their predictions of calamity and sellout by the Vietnamese are true. The PLP leadership must be hoping to upstage the Communist movement, to scoop the left, and be catapulted into world leadership by the verity of its predictions. It is difficult to find another explanation for the outright distortions and lies it has perpetrated in its anti-Vietnam attack. Carl Davidson pointed out in the January 11 edition of the GUARDIAN that the DRV and the NLF had disclaimed the political position of the March, 1968 issue of WAR/PEACE REPORT on which PLP based much of its case. But has PL repudiated its position thereby?--not much of a chance.

The November, 1968 issue of CHALLENGE limited the attack to the North Vietnamese while praising the South Vietnamese's ability to fight. Quick to note the unlikely chance that PL could split the unified will of the Vietnamese, John Corvo wrote in the December CHALLENGE that the NLF were sellouts too. However, the main line of attack has not been to set northerner against southerner, but to place the leadership against the people. Beginning with their notorious seafloater in the April, 1967 demonstrations against the war in Vietnam which referred to the "shameless backsliding of the Hanoi leaders," they have systematically stopped up the assault on the Vietnamese leadership, particularly Ho Chi Minh. They not only attack his leadership but state outright that his is a U.S. and Soviet "puppet" regime, and that he is being "maintained" in order to facilitate the transformation of Vietnam into a base against China. Hard to believe? We thought so too. But here it is:

The U.S. and the S.U. are trying to convert Vietnam into a giant base for war against China. This is one important reason why they want the Vietnamese to surrender. And why they maintain the Ho Chi Minh leadership.²⁴

Since the Chinese are the ultimate object of such an encirclement, what do they say about this "traitor", "puppet", and "sellout" Ho Chi Minh? Apparently the air edition of CHALLENGE has been held up in U.S. Customs, because in the February 21 edition of the PEKING REVIEW Lin Piao says the following:

We are deeply convinced that under the leadership of their great leader President Ho Chi Minh and persevering in protracted peoples war, the 31 million Vietnamese people will surely drive out all the U.S. aggressors from Vietnam and achieve the great goal of liberating the south, defending the north and proceeding to reunify their motherland.²⁵

Considering the threat to China itself, are we to conclude that Lin Piao is a poisonous wood? Mao Tse-tung himself signed a letter on December 19, 1968, praising the "leadership of their great leader Ho Chi Minh," stating:

On the occasion of the 8th anniversary of the founding of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation, we, on behalf of the Chinese people, the Communist Party of China and the Government of the Peoples Republic of China, extend the warmest greetings to the people of south Vietnam and the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation who are standing at the forefront of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.²⁶

In a single sentence of greetings Mao sums up the main question at issue. The Vietnamese stand in the forefront of the struggle! It is their practice that every day proves the falsity of the charge of revisionism. The final test of revisionism is not words but deeds. The Indian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) called itself Maoist but was attacked openly by the Chinese as revisionist? Why? For the simple reason that when the peasants of Naxalbari rose up to overthrow their masters, the Indian CP (ML) opposed the masses. The Indian example is not the first time that a party has opposed the struggle of the masses under the guise of "left" phrases.

The Progressive Labor Party has opposed the most important mass demonstrations against the War in Vietnam under one pretext after another. In the April, 1967 demonstrations referred to above, PL boycotted the organizing activities on the west coast, and in San Francisco confined itself to issuing leaflets attacking Hanoi and the march organizers. Its pretext in that struggle was that the slogan "End the War in Vietnam," due to its vagueness, opened the door to nuclear attack by the U.S. as a quick means of ending the war. It is certainly true that the revisionists who organized the march along with others submerged everything within the "united front," but PL handed the ball over to them and

24. "Editorial," CHALLENGE

25. PEKING REVIEW, February 21, 1969

26. PEKING REVIEW, December 27, 1968

discredited Marxism-Leninism in the eyes of many honest people. The Oakland Stop the Draft Week Demonstrations went a long way toward defeating the open pacifist trend within the movement thereby providing a basis of respect between the Black Liberation struggles and the anti-war struggles. PL took an essentially conservative position in that demonstration refraining from real participation and finally sharply criticizing the action the night before on the grounds that the students movement's main fight was on campus - getting rid of ROTC etc. PL did participate in Stop the Draft Week through the Black Anti-Draft Union. They argued that the pigs might chase the students into the ghetto which was adjacent to the site of demonstrations, thereby provoking a massacre in the black community. Their line was supported by a group from the now defunct Northern California Black Panther Party. It should be noted that these Black Panthers have nothing in common with the Black Panther Party of Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. This little group was a notorious band of cultural nationalists and renegades. Considering PLP's line on "nationalism", this is a curious "alliance" indeed. When the Oakland 7 were acquitted and the announcement was made at the March SDS IX, PLP and many of its supporters sat silently while the rest of the Convention cheered the victory. One final example. On the occasion of the massive and militant Pentagon demonstration, they opposed mass marches resulting in "futile" confrontations to long term base building as if these were necessarily in contradiction. Basebuilding as a strategy was used as a club to beat down an important action. In short, they have proven again and again that they oppose in practice mobilizing broad, militant, united action against imperialism.

How is it that the PLP is able to put forth this pernicious and false line and gain a certain amount of sympathy? There are a number of reasons. First, there is a general worldwide struggle against revisionism led by the Chinese and Mao Tse Tung. The restoration of capitalism in a number of formerly socialist countries, the betrayal of the struggles of the peoples of the world, has outraged many people and has underscored the importance of vigilance in preventing the strengthening and temporary victory of revisionism in the struggle between two roads. It is somewhat natural that in the struggle against right opportunism that one would be prone to "left" opportunist errors. Second, there is a tendency, which stems from superficial radicalism, radicalism not steered in the struggle of the masses, to establish one's revolutionary credentials through rhetoric. Third, as we have observed, there is within the imperialist homeland, particularly among those belonging to the white national majority, a powerful disposition toward national chauvinism manifesting itself in arrogance, feelings of superiority, subtle racism, condescension, etc. Fourth, the peculiarities of the American movement--the triumph of dogmatism and revisionism in the U.S. Communist Party, the "generation gap" induced by the repression of the fifties, the slanderous attack by Khrushchev on Stalin and the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as the errors of the Marxist-Leninists--have all bred a distrust for the teachings of the leaders of the worldwide proletarian movement. Despite the new worldwide triumphs of Marxism-Leninism a general ignorance prevails within the U.S. on the most elementary principles of scientific socialism which is only just beginning to be overcome. It is our view that many of the errors of the membership of the PLP fall into the category of infantile leftism, reflecting the newness of their participation in the movement and the sincerity of their convictions, in contrast to the mature neo-Trotskyism of the leadership nurtured over a long period.

But the key to the confusion on a theoretical level has to do with the peculiarities of the world situation. We are faced with an entirely new situation as a result of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. The Chinese party has taken the Russian revisionists to task and exposed them for all the world to see. The Vietnamese party has not seen fit to join in this attack nor have the Vietnamese launched a cultural revolution. It is also true that the Vietnamese in the north have accepted "aid" from the Soviet Union. It is certainly our view that every nation building socialism must undergo a cultural revolution, indeed they will undoubtedly go through a series of cultural revolutions, but it would be idealism in the extreme for us to become grand strategists of everyone else's cultural revolution especially when we have not yet ourselves accomplished the preliminary socialist revolution. The difficulty stems partly, as we have said, from an idealist, ahistorical method of analysis. By judging all events merely from the vantage point of the most advanced developments, i.e., the cultural revolution, all other events seem pale beside it. Why doesn't everyone see what we see? Why have they not done what needs to be done? We have witnessed this error before in the utopian socialism of the 19th. century. But this 'enlightenment' world outlook has gained new vitality because in this instance we are dealing with state power in the hands of the proletariat. Hence it seems as if anything can be accomplished.

Just as PL attributes to the state power of the ruling class super-natural powers to co-opt and turn into its opposite every reform struggle short of socialism (not led by PLP), so too, it attributes to the proletariat supernatural powers once it has established its state power. This simpleminded formulation obscures the struggle between two roads, the capitalist road and the socialist road, which continues during all phases of the struggle for communism. Smashing the state power of the imperialists increases the opportunities of the working class to finally defeat the ruling class a thousand-fold, but it by no means follows that the proletariat can do exactly as it wishes, in total disregard of the mass line.

What is the nub of PL's argument on the "aid" question? They say, "You can't take increasing "aid" from the revisionists and fight revisionism at the same time."²⁷ They have since gone way beyond this, arguing that Soviet domination of the Vietnamese is a fait accompli. Concealed in this seemingly innocent phrase is rampant national chauvinism. It is certainly true that Soviet "aid" is not genuine "aid". The "aid" the Soviets give is designed to increase their leverage in order to undermine the revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese. It is designed to enhance Russian Great Power ambitions vis a vis China and Southeast Asia and it is designed to maintain a facade of support for revolution. Recently the Soviets have expanded contacts with Chang Kai Shek clique in Taiwan, are closely coordinating military and other matters with the Japanese, are directly seeking to occupy Chinese territory, and, in general, are stepping up their campaign to encircle China. But Soviet intentions are one thing and the Vietnamese reaction is quite another. They cannot be equated nor can they be blurred over. The Vietnamese believe they can subordinate "aid" received from abroad to the revolutionary struggle. It ultimately comes down to a question of whether or not it is possible to have unity on any level with the revisionists. The Vietnamese believe you can. The Chinese believe you cannot. We fundamentally agree with the Chinese on this question, but we refuse to arrogate to ourselves the posture of denouncing the Vietnamese on that count. Furthermore we hold that it is a bald-faced lie to say that the Vietnamese are under the domination of the Soviets. PL really treats the question revisionism as if it were some thirteenth century plague. If the body becomes infected, the case is terminal. This attitude shows nothing but contempt for the people. In practice PL ends up counting on a Vietnamese sellout and desperately searching for proof!

Chou En Lai summed up the question excellently so far as we are concerned in a speech delivered at the National Day Celebration given by the Vietnamese ambassador.

On the Vietnamese question, Soviet revisionism has long pursued a policy of sham support and real betrayal. In fact, the peace talks scheme on Vietnam is jointly devised by U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism. After the invasion and occupation of Czechoslovakia by Soviet revisionism, U.S. imperialism will definitely demand a higher price on the Vietnam question, while Soviet revisionism will only serve U.S. imperialism all the more obsequiously in the latter's scheme of splitting the Vietnam nation and forcibly occupying southern Vietnam. It is high time all those who cherish illusions about Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism woke up!²⁸

It was in the same speech that Chou En Lai hailed Ho Chi Minh's great leadership and reaffirmed Chinese support for the Vietnamese revolution. If the leadership of the PLP were really consistent, it would denounce Mao Tse Tung and the Chinese party for permitting Soviet "aid" to pass through Chinese territory. If the "shameful betrayal of the Vietnamese revisionist leaders" was that grave, what does it make Mao who has yet to denounce them? The last refuge of these scoundrels in attempting to cover their real opposition to the Vietnamese is to finally admit "we are doing the Chinese a favor since they must be quiet for

27) Unfortunately the footnote for this citation was lost. In the tedious job of reviewing PL's literature we found an even better statement of their position which we include here: "We believe that revolutionaries must agree on this crucial point: under no circumstances should aid be taken from revisionism. We believe that anyone who takes "aid" from the revisionists will eventually lose their struggle, no matter how heroic the forces involved. We believe this to be a life and death question for the international revolutionary movement."

28) Peking Review, September 6, 1968

diplomatic reason." But Mao and the Chinese are not doubledealing like the leadership of PLP. There are questions of principle at stake here! What is the correct approach to the handling of contradictions among the people, specifically, what is the correct approach to the handling of contradictions between fraternal parties and peoples.

The puny attempts of the PLP to divide the Vietnamese from the Chinese and to divide and confuse the American movement on this question are bound to fail. The most striking example of this took place at the two recent conventions of SDS. At each convention the closing minutes were devoted to chants and cheers. In December, the PLers and their supporters chanted Mao, Mao, Mao Tse Tung, whereas the opposition chanted Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh. Many young revolutionaries whose instincts and understanding had correctly led them to uphold the struggle of the Vietnamese people developed an unnecessarily negative attitude toward Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse Tung as a result. In March it was a whole new story. The PLers, having suffered one defeat after another, left the Convention hall early under the pretext that their buses were late. The remaining delegates passed a resolution in support of the Vietnamese nearly unanimously and then chanted in unison, "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, dare to struggle, dare to win" followed by a second round of chants in unison "Mao, Mao, Mao Tse Tung, dare to struggle, dare to win." An important victory had been won for the unity of the Vietnamese, Chinese, and American peoples, as well as a victory for Marxism-Leninism and Mao's Thought.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS CONFERENCE?

By their practice the Black Panther Party has earned the respect of the entire left. The Panthers demonstrated the necessity of armed self defense to protect the black community. Their ten point program deals not only with the surface and legal manifestations of racism but with the basic oppression and exploitation. The Panthers projected on a national scale that even in the fight for black liberation, politics rather than skin color is primary. This provided the basis for Third-World people to work together and with whites in coalitions based on mutual respect and struggle against the common enemy. Specifically rejected was the subordination of one people to another as in the old civil rights and trade union movements (whites dominating blacks) or the sycophancy and tail-ending of whites in the early black power movement.

Because they measured people by their relationship to oppression rather than by their skin color or rhetoric, the Panthers openly opposed self-seeking Negroes who served the ruling class, even if they wore naturals or used the language of nationalism. The Panthers opposed Black Capitalism, and Negro Democratic Party politicians, just as it opposed the white servants of the ruling class.

The Panthers have led the way in pointing out that ultimately, the liberation struggle of black people was inseparable from that of all people. Without subordination to the conservative consciousness of the white working class, the Panthers have worked toward alliances with whites for destruction of capitalism and the building of a new nonexploitative society.

But the Panthers are not superhuman. Despite their many advances, they are still capable of making mistakes and moving in the wrong direction in response to changing conditions. Muting criticism in the name of support to the Panthers does no service to the Panthers and the black liberation struggle. If there can be no debate and criticism in the left, the result will not be united action, but ossification and ultimately decay. A left which lacks respect for its own ideas and programs and cannot stand internal debate, cannot possibly hope to win the support of the masses. It is within this context of fraternal support that we make our criticism of this conference.

We believe that both the structure and direction of this conference point in an extremely dangerous direction for the left. The so-called "United Front" seems to be turning into an excuse for conservative alliances, a unity based not on common political struggle but artificially constructed by top down control and the exclusion of unpopular left-wing groups from the movement.

People are lectured, like sheep in a class room. Discussion and debate are ruled out. We are supposed to "get down to business" and not ask any questions about what business we are getting down to. We find the conservative, corrupt and discredited Communist Party and its establishment liberal allies elevated to share the platform with the Black Panther Party as the leadership of our movement.

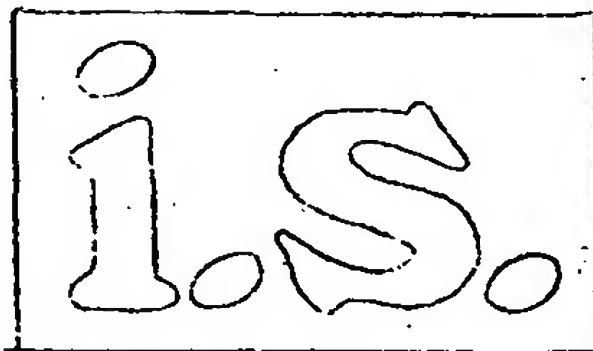
At the same time, left organizations are told that they cannot present their points of view. While millionaire liberal dillitantes like Edward Keating and discredited Communist Party liberals like Herbert Apthekar drone on from the podium, groups in the lobby (including the Independent Socialist Club and the Spartacists) had their literature censored by Panther ideologists and then banned on various excuses. Progressive Labor Party and individuals (fingered by so-called "white radicals") supposedly friendly to PL were banned from attending the conference. This is nothing more than the methodology of red-baiting.

We fundamentally oppose PL's views on nationalism and most other questions. But PL at least demands that Huey be set free. Willy Brown, who is scheduled to speak from the podium, is a Democratic Party politician who refused to support the demand that Huey be set free. What is the political meaning of a "United Front" which excludes or silences left groups but invites "Democrats, Republicans, the NAACP, black police organizations, etc." If we are to measure groups by their practice, why isn't the demand to free Huey, or the willingness to attack the repression in practice the "test" rather than "anti-facist" lip-service and rhetoric.

One of the signs of the disastrous direction the movement has taken is the attitude that any criticism of the Panthers is to be interpreted as opposition. Just to make our position explicit, we are supporters of the Panthers. The ISC was one of the first groups to publicly support the Panthers following their arrests in Sacramento in 1966. When the Panthers were still a small Oakland-based organization, we were actively defending and explaining them while most liberals and the left were hostile to armed self defense or were looking to SNCC and Stokely Carmichael as the leadership of the black movement. We continue to support them today, but like yesterday when no one else was around, this does not mean that we hide our differences.

Because of their leadership role, the Panthers have earned respect on the left and repression from the police and courts. In this sense, the Black Panther Party is a vanguard. But there is a difference between providing leadership in the form of ideas and action (the true role of a vanguard), and stifling a movement by insisting that it conform to the direction of one organization.

The best support for the Panthers, the best way to defend them from the vicious repression coming down, is not by merely attending support rallies or organizing others to attend support rallies. Ultimately, the only way to end the repression is to end the social system whose periodic crises produces that repression. This will require continuation of the open debate and discussion that has been one of the healthiest aspects of the new radicalism.



For a full statement of our views on the repression and the conference see the special issue of the IS which the Panthers have banned from the conference.

INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CLUB
P. O. BOX 910, BERKELEY.
July 19, 1969

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In addition to the above, the following literature or publications were obtained at this convention:

1. Revolution and Education by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information
2. Mao Tse-Tung on Contradiction
Foreign Language Press
Peking
3. Mao Tse-Tung
The Chinese Language Press
Foreign Language Press, Peking 1965
4. The Anti Fascist Front, Publication of the National Committees to Combat Fascism in America,
July 18, 19 & 20, 1969
No. 1, Vol. 1.
5. HIJCS DE ZAPATA
Vol. 1, No. 3.
Published by the Richmond Brown Berets, June
6. Black Studies
Black Students Union
San Francisco State College
1600 Holloway
San Francisco
94132
7. Bring The War Home
SDS
8. U. S. Imperialism and the Fascist Danger
9. A Radical Defense Handbook
Movement Liberation Front
4164 17th Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94114
10. Peoples World, Saturday, July 19, 1969
11. Workers World, July 12, 1969
12. The Partisan, Youth Against War & Fascism
13. Movement, August, 1969

14. Bulletin, Ministry of Information, July 5, 1969
15. Berkeley Tribe, July 10-24, 1969
16. The Militant, Friday, July 18, 1969
17. SDS Educational Packet
Fight Fascism: Bring the War Home
18. The Jewish Radical, January, Vol. 1, No. 1.
19. The Red Guard, Vol. 1, No. 3, June 25, 1969
20. SDS New Left Notes, Vol. 4, No. 23, June 25, 1969
21. The San Jose Maverick, February, 1969
22. The San Jose Maverick, March, 1969
23. The San Jose Maverick, May, 1969
24. Special Issue: United Front Against Fascism
25. BASTA YA!
Vol. 1, No. 2, P. O. Box 12217, San Francisco, Calif.
26. Rising Up Angry
July, 1969
Vol. 1, No. 1
27. The Black Panther, Saturday, July 5, 1969
28. The Black Panther, Saturday, July 12, 1969
29. The Black Panther, Saturday, June 28, 1969
30. The Anti Fascist Front, Publication of the National
Committees to Combat Fascism, No. 1, Vol. 1.
31. The Village Voice, February 13, 1969
32. Speak Out For the Release of Plainfield's Black Hostages.

33. Bulletin, Why Wayne Greene?
34. Young Partisans: People's Program
35. What is MLF?
36. San Francisco State Legal Defense Committee
37. Peoples' One-Point Program
38. Jewish Liberation Project
39. Statement of Principals of Berkeley Union of Jewish Students -- National Jewish Organizing Project
40. Statement and Resolution on Anti-Semitism
Jewish Liberation Project
41. Jewish Liberation Journal
42. A Letter to All Good People, by AMOS ~~KENAN~~ U.S.A.
43. Donate to the Free Food Program

CONFIDENTIAL

July 21, 1969

On the afternoon of July 21, 1969, [REDACTED] were seen attending the BPP Retreat being held at St. Augustine Church, 27th and West Streets, Oakland, California. BOBBY SEALE, Chairman of the BPP, was in charge of the workshop, assisted by DON COX, and GERONIMO, both Black Panthers from New York. (c) CALIF

At this meeting DON COX was the speaker and read the message to Sister ERIC HUGGINS from ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party. After reading this message from the Black Panther, Black Community News Service dated Saturday, July 5, 1969, Vol. III, No. 11, a discussion was held by SEALE, COX and GERONIMO with all Black Panthers present at the meeting. The Sisters present claimed that the brothers in the BPP are taking advantage of them by being mean to them, beating on them, taking advantage of them sexually, and not treating them as the other half of man. The sisters said they are not the weaker part nor the stronger part, but the other half, and must be treated as such; that the women's place was just as important as the men's, and in some instances more important, because the women had to take care of the children, the husbands, the house and also after work, such as pick up the gun if necessary, and do field work.

BOBBY SEALE made comment instructing the men that this type of action would not be tolerated in the BPP; that the men are to respect the women as the other half of the party, and that the men must teach the Sisters how to shoot for defense of the people; that the sisters must teach the men how to do office work such as shorthand and typing; that the organization must be so rigged together that if any brother or sister is off for any reason the work of the party will go on. He stated that they must have a central office in every state, the secretary must be there at all times to receive reports from all branches of the party in the state, to make record of all action and make four copies of all record, sending three copies to the National Headquarters in Oakland, California. After this the National Headquarters would know at all times what is happening in each state and important information can be printed in the BPP newspaper.

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SEALE stated that any real important information should be phoned into the National Headquarters and the National Headquarters will be open 24 hours a day.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

July 22, 1969

On July 22, 1969, [REDACTED] were again (C) seen attending the BPP retreat in the form of a workshop at St. Andrews Church, Oakland, California. A message from ELDREDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party was read by DON COX from The Black Panther, Black Community News Service, Saturday, July 12, 1969, Vol. III, No. 12.

BOBBY SEALE explained the things that are happening to members of the BPP. He said the more serious things will happen to members of the party; that we know this in the beginning and our job is to defend the people; that ELDREDGE CLEAVER did the right thing when he left this country because we needed his direction in the manner which he had given the party ever since his departure from the United States, such as the information that we are studying today in this retreat. He stated that the pigs (policemen) know that they are in a war with a well trained group and that they will do anything to destroy us.

In the afternoon another workshop was held on revolution and education written by ELDREDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the BPP, as published in The Black Panther, Black Community News Service, Saturday, June 28, 1969, Vol. III, No. 10.

After DON COX read this article by CLEAVER, COX explained the first article of what is going on in the colleges; that the pigs have no respect for the administration of the colleges or the students; that the students were paying these universities for the education they are receiving and had all rights to be respected as such. He stated it is our job to see that this type of action by the pigs must stop, by any means necessary.

DON COX said the super structure of the system controls man's life through institution of education, Post Office, hospitals and through other sources that they have organized within the government; that these different departments are only to protect the system. COX said they use various means in the economical structure to weaken the people such as price control, wage control, taxation that imposes heavy burden on the people. He stated that the system is a Capitalistic system and this is why we must be revolutionary to overthrow this capitalistic

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system, to bring into being a socialist system, and then to the Communist system, so that all people would have the same right, poor people, white people, red people, yellow people, et cetera.

BOB SEALE commented on the overall article and stated that we are the vanguard of the people; that we are the only organization that is capable of liberating the people in this country. He said because of the threat to the system by the party, we have been ruled as a subversive organization by that "racist pig, J. EDGAR HOOVER"; that we must educate the students on campus and the people in the community of just what is going on, and we cannot move without the people with us. SEALE related that the Indians are victims of the fascist pigs, when they destroyed the buffalo. He said the buffalo was the Indians' main source of survival; that they used the buffalo for food, clothing, shelter, weapons and medicine and the racist pigs went in and killed all of the buffalo; therefore, the Indian had no way to survive; that the Indian had the right ideology by picking up the gun, but did not know what they were fighting against, and this is why we must continue to study this fascist government; that we would know better how to overthrow it, and we have been taught by every FREDRIDGE CLEAVER and HUEY P. NEWTON to know your enemy and his strong points before you attack him, and everybody knows that we are a revolutionary organization and revolutionaries will die to protect their people. He made strong statements about freeing all of the political prisoners and some of them you don't even know; that there are about 150 political prisoners and anyone else known who is being held as a political should be reported to the BPP Headquarters; that we are not only interested in BPP members who are political prisoners, but anyone else. He stated no longer are we defending the BPP since we have become the vanguard of the people, not black people only, but all people. He said we have had a hard fight in the past; that we knew this in the beginning and we have a hard job confronting us, but we did not build this party by sitting down and doing nothing; that we will have to work hard and long because the party is under strict surveillance from the racist pigs, and as we have always said, we must use every means necessary, we will resolve all legal means, but everybody knows that power comes out of the barrel of a gun. He stated we will now go to San Francisco on 47th Street to see the movie "Z" again for the benefit of those who arrived late, and had not had a chance to see it; that we will return here for the last session of this retreat.

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